R. D

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE the Earle of LEYCESTER, Lieutenant generall of all her Maiesties forces in the *vnited Prouinces of the lowe Countreys, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thence:*

With a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the QVEENES Maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately assembled in Parliament.

Ab^t the Q. of Scotland.

And her Maiesties answeres thereunto by her *selfe deliuered, though not expressed by the reporter* with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by her Maiestie.

¶ Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.
1586.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE the Earle of Leiceſter, &c.

ALbeit with earneſt deſire of my hart (right honourable my very good Lord) I haue alwayes endeuoured to do your Lordſhip ſome acceptable ſeruice, for the honour you firſt vouchſafed me from beyond my cradel, and after confirmed with the fauourable opinion wherewith you haue alwayes countenaunced me euer ſince, euen thus farre onward on my daies, which alſo together with my yeres hath increaſed faſter then mine abilitie to performe, being croſſed in nothing more deepely, then when I was letted by the ouermuch tendring of me by my parents, to attend your Lordſhip in your late voyage and honourable expedition into the Lowe Countries: yet haue I bene euer ſince moſt ſtudious to obſerue and apprehende ſome good occaſion, or fitte oportunitie, to teſtifie the duetifull reuerence I beare to your Lordſhip: wherein if hitherto I haue beene ſlacke in performance during your abſence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to entertaine your Lordſhip with matter either friuolous or vulgar: though thinges of that nature might beſt become my condition, and well agree with my vnderſtanding.

In which cogitation it came to my minde, that the report of the ſpeaches deliuered by the Queenes moſt ex-

cellent Maieſtie in a late and weightie cauſe dealt in this Parliament, in anſwere to the petitions preſented to hir Maieſtie the 12, & 24, of Nouember at Richmond by the Lord Chauncelour and Speaker, reſpectiuely, in the name and behalfe of both Eſtates, accompanied with diuers of either ſort, would doubtleſſe bee a thing to your L, moſt grateſull, as one euer pleaſed iuſtly to admire the rare perfections of her mind, and approoued Iudgement, wherewith, according to your Eſtate & place, deſeruedly, your L. hath beene vſually acquainted: as alſo worthie of eternal monument and euerlaſting memorie, for as much as on the ſodaine they were deliuered by her ſelfe, for anſwere of a matter propounded, debated, reſolued, and digeſted, with great labour and premeditation, of the greateſt, graueſt, wiſeſt, and moſt choiſe perſons of the whole Realme. Whereof although I haue but ſlēderly purtraied the lineaments, without expreſſing to life the external ornaments of her Royall ſpeach, accompanied with all Princely and gracefull accomplementes: yet doubt I not but your Lordſhip will eaſily finde her inward vertues, whereof it is impoſsible for mee to make the leaſt adumbration.

And becauſe in the dayly expectation of your Lordſhips returne, I reſted vncertaine how theſe might come ſafely to your Lordſhips hands: I did therefore aduiſe to haue this my letter with the included copies to be ready to attend your firſt arriuall, in gratulation of the ſafetie thereof, which hath bene long deſired. Wherein, as I ſtriue to performe a particular duetie to your Lordſhip, ſo truſt I you will haue that honourable conſideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there growe not any preiudice to me for my preſumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought ſo great aſtoniſhment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnes of euery mans expectation: and therefore, without ſome fauourable conſtruction of mine

attempt,

attempt, I might incurre great blame by my ſlender maner of report, ſo to haue blemiſhed the excellencie of her Maieſties ſpeaches, whereof I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to haue fauourable regard. Thus referring them to your Lordſhips diſpoſition, and my ſelfe to your fauourable protection, I humbly take my leaue. 25. Nouemb. 1586.

Your Lordſhips moſt
humbly in all duetie to
commaund.

R. C.

THE BRIEFE OF THE Lorde CHANCELLERS firſt *ſpeach, at the time when he deliuered* her moſt excellent MAIESTIE *a petition in writing, for, and in the name of the Lordes and Commons:*

Which ſpeaches were of more length then here are by me collected: but ſure I am, the ſubſtance thereof is here truely expreſſed.

THat the Lordes and Commons hauing of long time to their intollerable griefe, found, by howe many practiſes the Scottiſh Queene had compaſſed the deſtruction of her Highnes moſt Royall perſon (in whoſe ſafetie next vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to conſiſt) thereby not onely to bereaue them of the ſincere and true Religion in this Realme profeſſed and eſtabliſhed, but to bring backe againe this noble Realme into the thraldome of Romiſh tyrannie, and to ouerthrowe the happie eſtate thereof: wherein, although her Highneſſe of her abundant gratious naturall clemencie & Princely magnanimitie, hath either lightly paſſed them ouer, or with no ſmall indulgence tolerated, notwithſtanding the often and earneſt inſtances of her Nobilitie and Commons in

Sundry Parliaments heretofore: and further hath protected her from the violent pursuite of her owne people: she yet, as a person obdurate in malice (as it appeares,) continued her former practises, as had bene lately manifested by certaine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, *and diuers desperate persons, that had combined and confederated themselues by vowe and oth in a most horrible enterprise, by murther to take away the life of her Maiestie: wherein the Scottish Q. did not only aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbette thē, with perswasion, counsel, promise of reward, & earnest obtestation. Whereupon, her Maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of her royall person and the quiet of the Realme, did direct Commission vnder the great Seale to sundrie Lords and others of her Maiesties priuie Counsel, and a great nomber of Lordes of Parliament, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principall Iudges of the Realme, to heare, examine and determine the same, according to a Statute in that behalfe made in the xxvij. yeere of her reigne. Who, to the nomber of 36. hauing attended the execution of the said Commission, and diuers daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scottish Queene in her owne presence and hearing, (shee being permitted to say what shee woulde in her owne excuse,) did with one assent, finde her culpable both in priuitie and consent to the saide crimes obiected, and also in compassing the Queenes Maiesties death. Which sentence, by her owne directions vpon the hearing of the prooues and processe in Parliament, was iudged to haue beene most honourable and iust, and*

thereupon

thereupon they all beſeech hir Maieſty, that foraſmuch as the ſaid Queene of Scots, was the very ground and onely ſubiect, whereupon ſuch daungerous practiſes and complots had bene founded, againſt hir Maieſties moſt Royall perſon and the Eſtate of this Realme for theſe many yeeres, to the ouerthrowe of ſundrie of the Nobilitie of the land, and danger of Chriſtian religion, and that they coulde ſee no hope of her deſiſting, and her adherents, but that ſtill her Maieſties ſafetie muſt bee hazarded, and ſtand to the euent of the like miraculous diſcoueries:

Therefore, as moſt humble and inſtant ſuppliants, they did vpon their knees at her moſt gratious feete, beſeech and requeſt in moſt earneſt maner, that aſwell for the continuance of Gods Religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preſeruation of her perſon, and defence of them and their poſterities, it woulde pleaſe hir Highneſſe to take order, that the ſaide ſentence might be publiſhed, and ſuch further direction giuen, as was requiſite in this ſo weightie a cauſe, according to the purport and intent of the ſaid Statute. Wherin, if her Maieſtie (purſuing her wonted clemencie) ſhould nowe be remiſſe, beſides the imminent danger to hir perſon, ſhe might by the ſtay thereof, procure the heauie diſpleaſure of Almightie God, as by ſundry ſeuere examples of his Iuſtice in the ſacred Scriptures, doth appeare. And ſo he deliuered, to her Maieſties owne handes, the petition in writing, which he ſaid, had bene with great deliberation aſſented vnto, by all the whole Parliament.

A SHORT EXTRACT OF

such reasons, as were deliuered in speach by Master Sergeant Puckering, Speaker of the Lower House, before the Queenes most excellent Maiestie in her Presence Chamber at Richmond, the xii. of Nouember 1586. in the xxviii. yeere of her Reigne, containing diuers apparant and imminent dangers, that may grow to her Maiesties most Royal person, and to her Realme from the Scottish Queene and her Adherents, if remedie be not prouided.

¶ First, touching the danger of her Maiesties person.

1 *BOth this Scottish Queene and her fauourers, doe thinke her to haue right, not to succeed but to enioy your Crowne in possession: and therefore as shee is a most impacient competitor, so will shee not spare any meanes whatsoeuer, that may bereaue vs of your Maiestie, the onely impediment that she enioyeth not her desire.*

2 *Shee is obdurate in malice against your royall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed her all fauour and mercie, as well in preseruing her kingdome, as sauing her life, and saluing her honour. And therefore there is no place for mercie, since there is no hope that shee will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather for that her malice appeareth such, that shee maketh (as it were) her testament of the same, to be executed after her death, and appoynteth her executors to performe it.*

3 Shee

3 Shee boldly and openly professed it lawfull for her to moone inuasion vpon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie may ensue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did shee thereby not obscurely bewraie, that shee thought it lawfull for her to destroie your sacred person.

4 Shee thinkes it not onely lawfull, but honourable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being alreadie depriued of your Crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like shee will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seeke it by whatsoeuer meanes.

5 That shee is greedie of your Maiesties death, and preferreth it before her owne life and safetie: for in her direction to one of her late Complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of her, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

The danger of the ouerthrow of the true Religion.

1 IT is most perillous to spare her, that cõtinually hath sought the ouerthrow and suppression of true Religion, infected with Poperie from her tender youth, and being after that a Confederate in that Holy league when she came to age, and euer since a professed enemie against the trueth.

2 She resteth wholly vpon Popish hopes to deliuer and aduance her, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that aswell for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of her owne humor, she will supplant the Gospell, where, and when so euer she may: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoyded, as that it slay-

eth the very ſoule, and will ſpread it ſelfe not onely ouer England and Scotland, but alſo into thoſe partes beyond the Seas, where the Goſpell of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the defection of this noble Ilande.

The perill of the ſtate of the Realme.

1 *AS the Lydians ſaide,* Vnum Regem agnoſcunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non poſſunt: *So wee ſay,* Vnicam Reginam Elizabetham agnoſcunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non poſſunt.

2 *As ſhe hath already by her allurements brought to deſtruction moe Noble men and their houſes, together with a greater multitude of the Commons of this Realme, during her being here, then ſhe ſhould haue bin able to doe, if ſhe had bene in poſſeſſion of her owne Crowne, and armed in the fielde againſt vs: ſo will ſhe ſtill be continuall cauſe of the like ſpoyle, to the greater loſſe & perill of this Eſtate: And therefore this Realme neither can, nor may endure her.*

3 *Againe, ſhe is the onely hope of all diſcontented ſubiects, ſhe is the foundation whereon all the euill diſpoſed do builde, ſhe is the roote from whence all rebellions and trecheries do ſpring: And therefore whileſt this hope laſteth, this foundation ſtandeth, and this roote liueth, they will reteine heart, and ſet on foote whatſoeuer their deuiſes againſt the Realme, which otherwiſe will fall away, die and come to nothing.*

4 *Mercie now in this caſe towards her, would in the ende proue crueltie againſt vs all,* Nam eſt quædam crudelis miſericordia, *and therefore to ſpare her, is to ſpill vs.*

5 *Beſides*

5 *Beſides this, it will exceedingly grieue and in a maner deadly wound the hearts of all the good Subiects of your land, if they ſhall ſee a conſpiracie ſo horrible not condingly puniſhed.*

6 *Thouſands of your Maieſties moſt liege and louing Subiectes, of all ſorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your Maieſties ſafetie, haue moſt willingly both by open ſubſcription and ſolemne vowe, entred into a firme and loyall aſſociation, and haue thereby proteſted to purſue vnto the death, by all forcible and poſſible meanes, ſuch as ſhe is by iuſt ſentence nowe found to be: can neither diſcharge their loue, nor well ſaue their othes, if your Maieſtie ſhall keepe her aliue: of which burden your Maieſties Subiects are moſt deſirous to bee relieued, as the ſame may be, if iuſtice be done.*

7 *Laſtly, your Maieſties moſt louing & dutiful commons doubt not, but that as your Maieſtie is duely exerciſed in reading the Booke of God, ſo it will pleaſe you to call to your princely remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance bee, that are there to bee founde againſt King* Saul *for ſparing King* Agag, *and againſt King* Achab *for ſauing the life of* Benadad: *both which were by the iuſt iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for ſparing thoſe wicked Princes, whome God had deliuered into their handes, of purpoſe to be ſlaine by them, as by the miniſters of his eternal and diuine Iuſtice: Wherein full wiſely* Salomon *proceeded to puniſhment, when hee tooke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother* Adonias, *for the only intention of a marriage, that gaue ſuſpition of treaſon againſt him.*

Herein

Herein we your Maieſties moſt louing and obedient ſubiects, earneſtly depend vpon your princely reſolution, which we aſſure our ſelues ſhall be to God moſt acceptable, and to vs no other, then the ſtate of your Regall authoritie may afford vs, and the approoued arguments of your tender care for our ſafetie vnder your charge, dooth promiſe to our expectation

A RE-

A REPORT OF HER MAieſties moſt gratious anſwere, deliuered by *her ſelfe verbally, to the firſt petitions of the Lords and Commons, being the Eſtates of Parliament, in her Chamber of Preſence at Richmond, the xij. day of Nouember 1586. at the full almoſt of xxviij. yeeres of her Reigne: Whereof the Reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauourable interpretation of his intent, becauſe he findeth that he can not expreſſe the ſame anſwerable to the originall, which the learned call* Prototypon.

THE bottomleſſe graces and immeaſurable benefits beſtowed vpon me by the Almightie, are, and haue bene ſuch, as I muſt not onely acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefites, not ſo much in reſpect of his diuine Maieſtie, with whome nothing is more common then to doe things rare and ſingular: as in regard of our weakeneſſe, who can not ſufficiently ſet foorth his wonderfull workes and graces, which to mee haue bene ſo many, ſo diuerſely folded and imbroydered one vpon another, as in no ſorte I am able to expreſſe them.

And although there liueth not any, that may more iuſtly acknovvledge themſelues infinitely bounde vnto God then I, whoſe life he hath miraculouſly preſerued at ſundry times (beyonde my merite) from a multitude of perils and dan-

gers: yet is not that the cause, for which I count my selfe the deeplyest bounde to giue him my humblest thankes, or to yeelde him greatest recognition: but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserue the name of wonder, if rare things and seeldom seene be worthie of accompt: Euen this it is, that as I came to the Crowne with the willing hearts of my subiects, so doe I now after xxviij. yeres Reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good willes, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I finde my life hath bene full dangerously sought, & death contriued by such as no desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from malice (which hath the properry to make men glad at the falles and faulges of their foes, and make them seeme to doe for other causes, when rancor is the ground) as I protest it is and hath bene my grieuous thought, that one, not different in sexe, of like Estate, & my neere kin, shoulde fall into so great a crime: yea, I had so litle purpose to pursue her with any colour of malice, that as it is not vnknowen to some of my Lordes here, (for nowe I will play the blabbe) I secretly wrote her a letter vpon the discouery of sundry Treasons, that if she woulde confesse them, and priuately acknowledge them by her letters to my selfe, shee neuer shoulde needs be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of minde to circumuent her: for then

I knew

I knew as much as ſhe could confeſſe, and ſo did I write. And if euen yet, nowe that the matter is made but to apparāt, I thought ſhe truely would repent (as perhappes ſhe would eaſily appeare in outwarde ſhewe to doe) and that for her, none other would take the matter vpon them, or that we were but as tvvo milke maides vvith pailes vpon our armes, or that there vvere no more dependancie vpon vs, but mine ovvne life vvere onely in danger, & not the vvhole Eſtate of your Religion and vvell doings, I proteſt (vvherein you may beleeue me, for though I may haue many vices, I hope I haue not accuſtomed my tongue to be an inſtrument of vntrueth) I would moſt vvillingly pardon and remit this offence.

Or if by my death, other nations and Kingdomes might truely ſay, that this Realme had attained an euerproſperous & floriſhing eſtate: I vvould (I aſſure you) not deſire to liue, but gladly giue my life, to the ende my death might procure you a better Prince.

And for your ſakes it is, that I deſire to liue, to keepe you from a vvorſe. For as for me, I aſſure you, I finde no great cauſe I ſhould be fonde to liue: I take no ſuch pleaſure in it, that I ſhoulde much vviſh it, nor cōceaue ſuch terror in death, that I ſhould greatly feare it: and yet I ſay not, but if the ſtroke vvere cōming, perchance fleſh and blood vvould be moued vvith it, and ſeeke to ſhunne it.

I haue had good experience and tryall of this

vvorld: I know what it is to be a ſubiect, what to be a Soueraigne: vvhat to haue good neighbors, and ſometime meete euill willers. I haue founde treaſon in truſt, ſeene great benefits litle regarded, & in ſtead of gratefulnes, courſes of purpoſe to croſſe.

Theſe former remembrances, preſent feeling, and future expectation of euils, I ſay, haue made me thinke, *An euill, is much the better, the leſſe while it endureth:* and ſo, them happieſt, that are ſooneſt hence: & taught me to beare with a better minde theſe treaſons, then is common to my ſexe: yea, with a better heart perhaps, then is in ſome mē. Which I hope you wil not meerly impute to my ſimplicitie or want of vnderſtāding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purpoſes taken effect, I ſhould not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and, though my perill ſhould haue bene great, my paine ſhoulde haue bene but ſmal & ſhort: wherein, as I would be loth to dye ſo bloody a death, ſo doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for ſuch an euent, chance when it ſhall, which I referre to his good pleaſure.

And now, as touching their treaſons and conſpiracies, together with the contriuer of them, I will not ſo preiudicate my ſelfe and this my Realme, as to ſay or thinke, that I might not, without the laſt Statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded againſt her, which was not made particularly to preiudice her: though

perhaps

perhaps it might then be ſuſpected, in reſpect of the diſpoſition of ſuch as depend that way.

It was ſo farre from being intended to intrap her, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but ſith it is made, and in the force of a Lawe, I thought good, in that which might concerne her, to proceede according thereunto, rather then by courſe of common Law: wherein, if you the Iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not falſe (which God forbid) I might as iuſtly haue tried her, by the ancient Lawes of the land.

But you Lawyers are ſo nice in ſifting and skanning euery woorde and letter, that many times you ſtand more vpon forme then matter, vpon ſillables then ſence of the Lawe. For in the ſtrictnes and exact folowing of common forme, ſhee muſt haue beene indited in Stafford Shire, haue holden vp her hand at the Barre, and bene tried by a Iurie: A proper courſe forſooth, to deale in that manner with one of her Eſtate. I thought it better therfore, for auoiding of theſe and more abſurdities, to commit the cauſe to the inquiſition of a good nomber of the greateſt and moſt noble perſonages of this Realme, of the Iudges and others of good accompt, whoſe ſentence I muſt approoue: And all litle enough: For we Princes, I tel you, are ſet on ſtages, in the ſight and viewe of all the world duely obſerued: The eies of many beholde our actions: A ſpot is ſoone ſpied in our garments: A blemiſh quickely noted in our doings. It behooueth vs there-

fore

fore, to be carefull that our proceedings bee iuſt and honourable.

But I muſt tell you one thing more, that in this laſt Acte of Parliament you haue brought me to a narowe ſtraight, that I muſt giue direction for her death, which cannot be to mee but a moſt grieuous and irkeſome burthen. And leaſt you might miſtake mine abſence from this Parliament (which I had almoſt forgotten) although there be no cauſe why I ſhould willingly come amongſt multitudes, for that amongeſt many ſome may be euil: yet hath it not bene the doubt of any ſuch daunger or occaſion that kept me from thence, but onely the great griefe to heare this cauſe ſpoken of, eſpecially, that ſuch a one of State and kin, ſhould neede ſo open a declaration, & that this nation ſhould be ſo ſpotted with blots of diſloialtie. Wherein the leſſe is my grief, for that I hope the better part is mine, and thoſe of the worſe not much to be accompted of, for that in ſeeking my deſtruction, they might haue ſpoiled their owne ſoules.

And euen nowe coulde I tell you, that which woulde make you ſorie. It is a ſecrete, and yet I will tell it you, although it is knowen, I haue the propertie to keepe counſell, but too well oftentimes to mine owne perill. It is not long ſince mine eyes did ſee it written, that an othe was taken within fewe daies, either to kill mee or to be hanged themſelues: & that to be performed ere one moneth were ended. Hereby I ſee your danger

ger in me, and neither can nor will be so vnthankfull or careleſſe of your conſciences, as not prouide for your ſafetie.

I am not vnmindeful of your oth made in the aſſociation, manifeſting your great goodwils & affectiõs taken and entred into, vpon good conſcience, & true knowledge of the guilt, for ſafety of my perſon, & conſeruation of my life: done (I proteſt to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of ſuch a matter, vntil a great nomber of handes with many Obligations were ſhewed mee, at Hampton Court, ſigned and ſubſcribed with the names and ſeales of the greateſt of this lande: which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true heartes, and great zeale to my ſafetie: ſo ſhall my bonde be ſtronger tied to greater care for all your good.

But for as much as this matter is rare, waightie, and of great conſequence, I thinke you doe not looke for any preſent Reſolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my manner, in matters of far leſſe moment, to giue ſpeedy anſwer without due conſideration: ſo in this of ſuch importance, I thinke it verie requiſite with earneſt Prayer to beſeech his diuine Maieſtie, ſo to illuminate my vnderſtanding, and inſpire me with his grace, as I may doe and determine that, which ſhall ſerue to the eſtabliſhment of his Church, preſeruation of your eſtates, and proſperitie of this commõ wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I knowe delaie is dangerous) you ſhal haue with

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all conueniencie our Reſolution deliuered by our meſſage. And what euer any Prince may merite of their Subiects, for their approoued teſtimonie of their vnfained ſinceritie, eyther by gouerning iuſtly, voide of all partialitie, or ſufferance of any iniuries done (euen to the pooreſt) that doe I aſſuredly promiſe inuiolablie to performe, for requitall of your ſo many deſertes.

The occaſions of the ſecond acceſſe.

THis Anſwere thus made by her Maieſtie, the Lords and Commons were diſmiſſed. And then her Highneſſe ſome fewe dayes after, vpon deliberation had of this Petition, being (as it appeared) of her mercifull diſpoſition of nature, and her Princely magnanimitie, in ſome conflict with her ſelfe what to doe in a cauſe ſo weightie and important to her and the Realme, ſent by the Lorde Chauncelour (as I heard) and by the mouth of an Honorable perſon, and a right worthy member of the lower houſe, this meſſage to both houſes: mouing and earneſtly charging them, to enter into a further conſideration, whether there might not be ſome other way of remedy, then that they had already required, ſo farre diſagreeing from her owne naturall inclination. Whereupon, the Lords and Commons in either houſes aſſembled, had ſundry conſultations, both in their ſeuerall houſes generally, and by priuate Committees deputed ſpecially, and after conference had betwixt the ſayd Committees, it was reſolued with vnanimitie of conſent amongſt them in the lower houſe, and by vniuerſall concorde in the vpper houſe, (the queſtion there propounded to euery one of the Lords) that there could be found no other ſound and aſſured meane, in the depth of their vnderſtanding, for the continuance of the Chriſtian religion, quiet of the Realme, and ſafetie of her Maieſties moſt Royall perſon, then that which was conteined in their former petition. The reaſons whereof, were ſummarily theſe that followe: which are more ſhortly reported, then they were vttered.

A BRIEFE REPORT OF the ſecond acceſſe the 24. of Nouember 1586. and of the anſwere made in the name of the Lords of Parliament, to a meſſage ſent from hir MAIESTIE by the L. Chauncelour after hir firſt anſwere.

THE Lord Chauncelour accompanied with aboue fiue or ſixe and twentie Lords of Parliament, came before her Highnes in her Chamber of preſence, to deliuer the reſolutiõ of all the Lords of Parliament, concerning a meſſage which he had not long before deliuered from her Maieſtie, for further cõſultation, whether any other meanes could be thought of, or found out by any of thẽ, how the Scottiſh Queenes life might be ſpared, and yet her Maieſties perſon ſaued out of perill, and the ſtate of the Realme preſerued in quiet, declared, that according to that he had receiued in commandement from her Maieſtie, he had imparted the ſame to the Lordes aſſembled in the vpper houſe, whome he found by their generall ſilence much amazed at the propounding thereof, conſidering the ſame had bene before in deliberation amongſt them, and reſolued vpon, & as appeared by their former petition exhibited to her Highneſſe, wherein they had expreſſed the ſame reſolution. Notwithſtanding, for her Maieſties further ſatiſfaction, they had entred into a newe conſultation, and for that purpoſe ſelected a great nomber of the choyſeſt perſons of that higher houſe of Parliament, to conferre thereof, either priuatly or together with the lower houſe:

house: which also was done accordingly at seueral times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, and so afterwards by the whole assembly of both houses, that there could be no other assured meanes for the preseruation of her Maiesties life, & continuance of Gods Religion, & quiet of this State, then by the full execution of the sentence according to their former petition, instantly pressing her Maiestie with many arguments & reasons tending thereto, all which, though by distance from his Lordship I could not wel conceiue, yet this I did remember precisely & especially was one, that as it were iniustice to denie execution of Law, at the suit of any one particular, and the meanest of her people: so much more, not to yeelde to the earnest instance and humble prayers of all her faithful and louing subiects. And so concluded,

with earnest petition for her Maiesties resolute determination and answere, for a present and speedy direction by proclamation, and otherwise also, according to the forme of the statute.

A SVMMARIE REPORT

of the ſecond ſpeech, vttered by the Speaker of the Lower Houſe, by direction of all the Commons.

THat if her *Maieſtie ſhould be ſafe without taking away the life of the* Scottiſh Queene, *the ſame were moſt likelie and probably to grow, by one of theſe meanes following.*

1 Firſt, *that happily ſhe might be reclaimed and become* A repentant conuert, *agniſing her Maieſties great mercie and fauours in remitting her heynous offence, and by her loyaltie hereafter, performe the fruites of ſuch conuerſion.*

2 *Or els, by a more* Straygh guard *be ſo kept, as there ſhoulde be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.*

3 *Or, that good aſſurance might be giuen by* Othe, Bonds *or* Hoſtages, *as cautions for her good and loyal demeanour from henceforth.*

4 *Or laſtly, by* Baniſhment, *the realme might be voyded of her perſon, and thereby the perils further remoued, that growe to her Maieſtie by her preſence.*

The moments wherof being duely pondered, did yet appeare ſo light in all their iudgements, that they durſt not aduiſe any ſecuritie to reſt in any, no not in all of them.

For touching her cõuerſion, *it was conſidered, that if pietie or duetie could haue reſtreined her frõ ſuch heynous*

nous attempts, there was cause abundantly ministred to her on her Maiesties behalfe, when she not onely protected her against the violẽce of her own subiects, who pursued her to death by Iustice, but couered her honor, when the same by publique fame was touched, & by very heynous and capitall crymes obiected and proued against her before certeine Commissarie delegates assigned to examine the same, more then blemished, & spared her lyfe, when for her former conspiracies & confederacies with the Northren Rebelles, her highnesse was with great instance pressed by both the houses in the xiiii. yeere of her Maiesties reigne, to do like iustice vppon her, as nowe is desired, and as her treasonable practises then, had most iustly deserued.

And where the penaltie of this Acte sufficiently notified vnto her, should haue terrified her from so wicked attempts, she hath neuertheless insisted in her former practises, as a person obdurate in malice against her Maiestie, and irrecouerable: so as there was no probable hope of any conuersion, but rather great doubt and feare of relaps and recidiuation, forasmuch as she stood obstinately in the deniall of matter most euidently prooued, and now most iustly sentenced against her, and was not entred into the first part of repentance, The recognition of her offence, and so much the farther off from the true fruites that should accompany the same.

As for a surer guard, and more strait imprisonment, it was resolued, that there was no security therein, nor yet in the other two meanes propoũded of bonds and hostages: for asmuch as the same meanes that shoulde bee practised to take her Maiesties life away

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(which God forbid) would aptly serue both for the deliuery of her person, & release of the bonds & hostages that should be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which being vnhappily atchieued, and to our irreparable losse, who shoulde sue the bonds, or deteine the hostages? or being deteined, what proportion was there in bonds or hostages whatsoeuer, to counteruaile the value of so precious and inestimable a Iewel, as her Maiestie is to this Realme, and to vs all?

But she will solemnly vowe and take an othe, that she will not attempt any thing to the hurt of her Maiesties person: Shee hath already sundry times falsified her worde, her writing and her othe, and holdeth it for an article of religion, That faith is not to be holden with heretikes, of which sort shee accompteth your Maiestie, and all the professors of the Gospel to be: And therefore haue we litle reason to trust her in that, whereof shee maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step à malo in peius to set her at libertie: a thing so greatly desired and thirsted for by her adherents, and by some Princes her Allies, who sought her enlargement chiefly, to make her a head to be set vp against her Maiesty, in time of inuasiõ.

To the which were added some fewe reasons, collectẽd out of her owne letters & the confession of Babington, her instrument and chiefe conspiratour: by which appeared, howe her owne conscience bewrayed what might iustly fal vpon her, in case any of her intended desseignements came to light: that shee might haply bee shut vp in some more close and straite prison, as the Towre of London, if there befell her no worse thing: and in that

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ſhe directed Babington, *in caſe he failed in the action of her deliuery, that he ſhould neuertheleſſe proceede in the reſidue, which was the death of her Maieſtie: who alſo confeſſed, that vpon aſſurance of her Maieſties death, or the arriuall of ſtrangers, he intended to proclaime the Q. of Scots, and made no doubt of the deſired ſucceſſe: and therefore, her Maieſties death being ſo earneſtly ſought, for aduancement of this competitor, her Highnes could not remaine in quietnes or ſecuritie, if the Scottiſh Queene ſhould longer continue her life.*

THE

THE SECOND ANSVVERE

made by the Queenes Maieſtie, deliuered by her owne mouth, to the ſecond ſpeeche, vttered in the names of the Lords & Commons of the Parliament.

EVIL grieuous is the way, whoſe going on and end, breede comber for the hire of a laborious iourney.

I haue ſtriued more this day then euer in my life, whether I ſhoulde ſpeake, or vſe ſilence. If I ſpeake and not complaine, I ſhal diſſemble: if I holde my peace, your labour taken were full vayne. For mee to make my mone, were ſtrange and rare: for I ſuppoſe you ſhal finde fewe, that for their owne particular, will comber you with ſuch a care. Yet ſuch I proteſt hath bene my greedy deſire and hungrie will, that of your conſultation might haue fallen out ſome other meanes to woorke my ſafetie ioyned with your aſſurance, (then that for which you are become ſuch earneſt ſutors) as I proteſt, I muſt needes vſe complaint, though not of you, but vnto you, and of the cauſe: for that I do perceiue by your aduiſes, prayers, and deſires, there falleth out this accident, that *Onely my Iniurers bane, muſt be my lifes ſuertie.*

But if any there liue ſo wicked of nature, to ſuppoſe, that I prolonged this time onely, *pro forma*, to the intent to make a ſhew of clemencie, thereby to ſet my prayſes to the wyerdrawers to lengthen them the more: they doe me ſo great a wrong,

wrong,as they can hardly recompence. Or if any perſon there be,that thinke or imagine, that the leaſt vayneglorious thought hath drawen mee further herein, they doe me as open iniurie as euer was done to any liuing creature,as he that is the maker of all thoughtes, knoweth beſt to be true. Or if there bee any,that thinke,that the Lords appoynted in Commiſſion durſt do no other,as fearing thereby to diſpleaſe, or els to be ſuſpected to be of a contrary opinion to my ſafetie, they doe but heape vpon me iniurious conceites. For either thoſe put in truſt by me to ſupplie my place, haue not performed their dueties towards me: or els they haue ſignified vnto you all,that my deſire was, that euery one ſhould do according to his conſcience, & in the courſe of his proceedings ſhould enioy both freedome of voyce & libertie of opinion: & what they would not openly declare, they might priuately to my ſelfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing minde & great deſire I had, that ſome other means might be found out,wherein I ſhould haue taken more comfort, then in any other thing vnder the Sunne. And ſince nowe it is reſolued, that my ſuretie can not bee eſtabliſhed without a Princeſſe ende,I haue iuſt cauſe to complaine,that I, who haue in my time pardoned ſo many Rebels, winked at ſo many treaſons, and either not produced them, or altogether ſlipt them ouer with ſilence, ſhoulde nowe be forced to this proceeding,againſt ſuch a perſõ. I haue beſides,during

my reigne, ſeene and heard many opprobrious bookes and Pamphlets againſt me, my Realme and State, accuſing me to be a Tyrant: I thanke them for their almes: I beleeue, therein their meaning was to tell me newes, and newes it is to me in deede: I would it were as ſtrange to heare of their impietie. What will they not now ſay, when it ſhalbe ſpread, That for the ſafety of her life, a Mayden Queene could be content to ſpill the blood, euen of her owne kinſewoman? I may therfore ful wel complaine, that any man ſhould thinke mee giuen to crueltie, whereof I am ſo guiltleſſe and innocent, as I ſhoulde ſlaunder God, if I ſhould ſay he gaue me ſo vile a minde: yea, I proteſt, I am ſo farre from it, that for mine owne life I would not touche her: neither hath my care bene ſo much bent howe to prolong mine, as how to preſerue both, which I am right ſory is made ſo hard, yea, ſo impoſſible.

I am not ſo voide of iudgement, as not to ſee mine owne perill: nor yet ſo ignorant, as not to knowe it were in nature a fooliſh courſe, to cheriſh a ſworde to cutte mine owne throate: nor ſo careleſſe, as not to weigh that my life dayly is in hazard: but this I do conſider, that many a man would put his life in daunger for the ſafegarde of a King, I doe not ſay that ſo will I: but I pray you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it.

But ſith ſo many haue both written and ſpoken againſt mee, I pray you giue me leaue to ſay ſomewhat for my ſelfe, and before you returne

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to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue paſſed ſo careful thoughts. Wherin, as I thinke my ſelfe infinitely beholding vnto you al, that ſeeke to preſerue my life by al the meanes you may: ſo I proteſt vnto you, that there liueth no Prince, that euer ſhall be more mindefull to requite ſo good deſertes. And as I perceyue you haue kept your olde wonts, in a general ſeeking of the lengthning of my dayes: ſo am I ſure that I ſhall neuer requite it, vnles I had as many liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is any breath left mee. Although I may not iuſtifie, but may iuſtly condemne my ſundry faults and ſinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaynt you with my intents.

When firſt I tooke the Scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with ſuch religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, & I truſt ſhal die in. Although I was not ſo ſimple, as not to know what danger and perill ſo great an alteration might procure me: howe many great Princes of the contrary opinion woulde attempt all they might againſt me: and generally, what enimitie I ſhould breede vnto my ſelfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whoſe ſake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer ſince I haue bene ſo daungerouſly proſecuted, as I rather maruaile that I am, then muſe that I ſhould not be: if it were not Gods holy hand that conti-

nueth me, beyond all other expectation.

Then entred I further into the ſchoole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a King to do: and there I ſaw, he ſcant was wel furniſhed, if either he lacked Iuſtice, Temperance, Magnanimitie, or Iudgement. As for the two latter, I wil not boaſte, my ſexe doeth not permit it: But for the two firſt, this dare I ſay, Amõgſt my ſubiects I neuer knew a difference of perſon, where right was one: Nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for worth: Nor bent my eares to credite a tale that firſt was tolde me: Nor was ſo raſh, to corrupt my iudgement with my cenſure, before I heard the cauſe. I wil not ſay, but many reports might fortune be brought mee by ſuch as might heare the caſe, whoſe partialitie might marre ſometime the matter: For wee Princes may not heare all our ſelues. But this dare I boldly affirme, My verdit went euer with the trueth of my knowledge. As ful well wiſhed Alcibiades his friende, that hee ſhould not giue any anſwere, till he had recited the letters of the Alphabet: ſo haue I not vſed ouer ſudden reſolutions, in matters that haue touched me full neere: you wil ſay that with me, I thinke.

And therfore, as touching your counſels and conſultations, I conceiue them to bee wiſe, honeſt, and conſcionable: ſo prouident and careful for the ſafetie of my life (which I wiſh no longer then may be for your good,) that though I neuer

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can yeeld you of recompence your due: yet ſhall I endeuour my ſelfe to giue you cauſe, to thinke your good wil not ill beſtowed, & ſtriue to make my ſelfe worthy for ſuch ſubiects.

And now for your petition, I ſhal pray you for this preſent, to content your ſelues with an anſwere without anſwere: Your iudgement I condēne not, neither do I miſtake your reaſons, but pray you to accept my thankfulneſſe, excuſe my doutefulneſſe, and take in good part my anſwere anſwereleſſe: wherein I attribute not ſo much to mine owne iudgemēt, but that I thinke many particular perſōs may go before me, though by my degree I go before them. Therefore if I ſhould ſay, I would not doe what you requeſt, it might peraduenture be more then I thought: and to ſay I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to preſerue, being more then in your owne wiſdomes and diſcretions would ſeeme cōuenient, circumſtances of place and time being duely conſidered.

Imprinted at Lon-
don by Chriſtopher Barker,
Printer to the Queenes moſt
excellent Maieſtie.
1586.